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T.H. Marshall's Concept of Political and Social Citizenship in Public Opinion
The Dual Structure of Democratic Ideals in Europe

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Abstract

Normative democratic theory assumes that political systems should ensure both political and social rights to their citizens. This dual conception of citizenship was first developed in the work of T.H. Marshall (1950), but it has not routinely been included in empirical political science or in survey research. The current manifestations of discontent about the politics of austerity in numerous European countries create an ideal opportunity to assess the empirical validity of these two concepts by investigating whether they are supported by public opinion. In this article we use latent class analysis to assess the structure of democratic ideals among European citizens as reported in the 2012 European Social Survey. The findings demonstrate that some citizens tend to uniquely emphasize political rights as important for democracy, while others uniquely emphasize the importance of social rights. Especially in countries with higher levels of economic inequality, citizens expect that governments also address poverty issues. The focus on social rights, however, is by no means limited to voters with a leftish ideological preference. We conclude with some thoughts on what the importance of social citizenship might imply for democratic legitimacy in Europe.

Keywords: political citizenship; social citizenship; economic crisis; democratic legitimacy; European Social Survey; latent class analysis; T.H. Marshall

Introduction

The current economic crisis and the accompanying politics of austerity in most member states of the European Union are considered to pose a fundamental challenge for the legitimacy of European democratic systems (Schäfer & Streeck, 2013). In numerous countries, protests have erupted as a reaction to austerity politics, incumbent parties have encountered electoral challenges (Dassonneville & Lewis-Beck, 2014), and populist parties have gained a strong popular appeal in various countries (della Porta, 2013; Karyotis & Rüdig, 2015; Keman, 2014). The economic downturn has aggravated a climate of political dissatisfaction that was already apparent before the start of the global crisis, although thus far there is no empirical evidence that this downturn would have had any enduring negative effects (Bermeo & Bartels, 2014; Kern, Marien & Hooghe, 2015). The theoretical relevance of these events is that citizens seem to react strongly to economic developments, as indeed has been claimed all along by proponents of economic voting theory (Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier, 2000). This implies that political systems are also being held responsible for the way the economic system performs, and for the economy's impact on citizens' ability to reach a sufficiently high standard of living to ensure their basic social rights. The theory on economic voting allows us to assume that from the voters' perspective, political and economic systems are intertwined (Lewis-Beck & Nadeau, 2011). To express it differently: citizens apparently take notions of social citizenship and social justice into account when they make political decisions and decide whom to vote for.

In this paper, our goal is to ascertain whether this phenomenon could be explained by the expectations citizens have toward democracy in general, and toward the functioning of the political system more specifically. Is social justice an inherent part of conceptualisations of democracy? In contemporary studies on citizenship, one can observe a tendency to restrict attention almost exclusively to traditional liberal concerns like the rule of law, free and fair elections or non-discrimination. Self-evidently, these basic safeguards are very important and some of them go all the way back to the Magna Carta (Weingast, 1997). Research shows that these institutional and procedural basic liberties are indeed central components of citizens' conceptions of democracy and they are already emphasized and voiced at an early age (de Groot, Goodson & Veugelers, 2014). However, other authors have developed the claim that social rights are equally important to define a fully democratic political system. Formal and procedural political rights are of crucial importance, but they will remain without real consequences if citizens do not have the resources to use and develop their human capabilities (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993). This division between political citizenship and social citizenship goes back to the work of T.H. Marshall (1950), and it introduces a distinction between the political rights that define full

citizenship, and the social rights that further embody this concept. Marshall assumes a historical development, first focusing on political rights (predominantly in the 19th century) and subsequently expanding this notion to social rights (most notably in the 20th century). According to Marshall, and the authors who have adopted his approach, this granting of social rights can be seen as one of the major achievements of contemporary democracy in Europe as it enabled an ever large proportion of the population to enjoy full citizenship rights.

Marshall's theory of citizenship has had a huge impact on normative political science, and this is predominantly due to his bold move to set social rights and social justice at the heart of conceptualizing democracy and citizenship. Regimes of social protection, according to Marshall, amount to "a general enrichment of the concrete substance of civilized life, a general reduction of risk and insecurity, an equalization between the more and the less fortunate at all levels" (Marshall, 1964, 102). While this fundamental insight has strongly influenced the normative debate on social policy, the distinction between political and social citizenship is not all that often used in empirical political science (Bulmer & Rees, 1996). Therefore, we do not know whether this theoretical concept actually resonates within public opinion, and, if so, whether it could offer an explanation for how citizens react to the current economic crisis and the austerity measures decided upon by politicians from various levels.

There are three possible ways to conceptualize this relation. First, if citizens' beliefs about democratic legitimacy focus primarily on political procedures and institutions, then social-economic factors like increased income inequality should not have a direct effect on the way citizens interact with the political system. Alternatively, if social rights are an ideological construct that is espoused mainly by leftist or progressive voters and parties, we would expect that changing social-economic factors will predominantly affect public opinion on this topic among left-leaning citizens. If social rights are regarded as an ideological construct that is limited to leftist orientations, then social-economic changes such as growing inequality should not necessarily affect assessments of democracy among politically conservative or economically liberal groups in society. A third possibility is that social rights indeed are part of contemporary conceptualisations of democracy, and in that case a perceived lack of commitment to these goals might play a role in the current debate on the legitimacy of liberal democracy in Europe. In that case, we would expect the emphasis on social rights to be present across the population, both among left wing as among right wing voters.

In this article, we first briefly review the literature, as it was inspired by Marshall, on the distinction between political and social citizenship. Subsequently we assess whether this distinction is also present in the structure of democratic ideals that are being held by European

citizens. Our guiding question is to assess whether citizens view democracy mainly as a set of political rights, or whether they indeed perceive both political and social rights to be crucial for democracy, as Marshall has argued. This research question will be investigated using the results of the 2012 wave of the European Social Survey, which included an extensive battery of items regarding the elements that citizens consider as important for democracy. We investigate the structure of beliefs about democracy and subsequently we explore the variance between countries with regard to the distribution of these concepts.

Three forms of citizenship

The historical development of contemporary citizenship concepts was aptly summarized in the work of T.H. Marshall, who distinguished three different conceptions of citizenship. Civil citizenship corresponds to the entitlement to basic rights, like freedom of speech, thought and faith and the right to own property. While some of these rights date back to the Magna Carta, Marshall himself considered their proliferation and generalization mainly as an 18th century phenomenon. Political citizenship implies the right to vote for office-holders, or to be a candidate oneself for elected positions of power. Social citizenship, finally, was defined as the right "to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society. The institutions most closely connect with it are the educational system and the social services" (Marshall 1964, 72). What was new in Marshall's approach was not necessarily his sketch of this historical development, but rather the fact that he considered these three conceptions of citizenship as elements of the same process of broadening citizenship concepts. From Marshall's perspective, once citizens are recognized as full members of society, they also receive undeniable social rights, such as protection against poverty. In his view, social rights have become an integral component of the status of citizenship in the 20th century (Marshall 1964, 96). Although there is a tendency to give more priority to one sets of values compared to another—both in the literature as within policy practices—it is clear that in Marshall's view, there is no trade-off relation between political and social rights, as both of these rights must be ensured simultaneously (Revi, 2014). In this view, a fully democratic regime cannot exist without upholding both social rights as well as formal political rights (Lister, 2005). Within normative theory there seems to be a consensus that there cannot be a trade-off between these various sets of norms and values, and therefore the duty of a democratic political system is to ensure all three forms of citizenship to its population. Social rights, therefore, receive exactly the same status as the right to vote or the rule of law. As such, the writings of Marshall helped to legitimize the historically unprecedented expansion of the social function of the state, most notably in the United Kingdom, but also in other Western countries.

Marshall's theory of citizenship has been hugely influential, and it helped to shape 20th century systems of social security and redistribution. Comprehensive welfare state arrangements became considered to be a means to ensure the use of full citizenship rights, including for those with lower levels of economic resources (Korpi, 1989). Marshall's framework of rights bolstered the notion that social coverage must be universal, including all members of society. The distinction introduced by Marshall became a strong mobilizing concept that reframed social policy as integral to the realization of citizens' basic rights and no longer as an ideological preference (Connell, 2012). Welfare state expansion came to be defined as a cornerstone of a truly democratic and inclusive society.

This continuous expansion of social rights, however, was halted toward the end of the 20th century (Korpi & Palme, 2003). Political, ideological and economic developments led to a weakening of support for the further development of these social rights (Turner, 2001). This trend toward welfare state retrenchment has become even stronger following the 2008 financial crisis, forcing governments to cut down on spending for social affairs and redistribution. Some authors propose that this kind of austerity politics should not be seen as an incremental policy to limit specific welfare programs, but rather as a practice that leads to abandoning the professed goal of expanding social rights as widely as possible (Banting & Myles, 2013; Soroka & Wlezien, 2014). According to these authors, the current austerity measures are not just a temporary setback, but they amount to a rejection of the entire framework on social rights, as it was developed in the work of Marshall and others.

In the literature, there is an intensive debate about how to understand and interpret the current politics of austerity. Streeck and Mertens (2013) have argued that the wide-ranging cuts in social security expenditure do not just amount to a financial adjustment, but could have vast repercussions on the political system's responsibility for ensuring social rights to the population. Structural economic transformations have greatly diminished the state's capacity to ensure full citizenship rights for its entire population. This transformation has not been a smooth and purely technocratic process, and it has led to various waves of protest (Rüdig & Karyotis, 2014). In practice, however, it is extremely difficult to measure the degree to which political systems actually uphold social rights and whether political systems have abandoned the ambition to reduce inequalities, following the 2008 financial and economic crisis (Danforth & Stephens, 2013). It is not clear therefore whether governments have really abandoned the ideal of universal social rights that has been so important throughout the 20th century.

In this debate, public opinion is hardly mentioned, as most of the observations focus on government policy and economic indicators. Likewise, in Marshall's writings he hardly elaborates on the question of how this broadening of the citizenship concept actually took place. His work departs from a functionalist perspective, focusing on the social and political institutions that were developed to implement the administration of these various forms of citizenship. The courts clearly are the bulwark of civil rights; political parties and institutions of representative democracy embody and protect political rights; and education and the social security system are seen as the main institutions that ensure social rights. Marshall writes from a top-down perspective, by describing how political systems allocate social and political rights to citizens and develop institutions that are in charge of administering and implementing these rights. If citizens play an active role at all in this process, this is by means of collective actions and trade unions, as they launch campaigns to demand more social rights. Especially in a time of welfare state entrenchment, however, it becomes all the more important to determine whether this expectation of broad citizenship rights is a relevant concept for citizens. Some research hints at the fact that especially conservative parties might even be rewarded for policies that reduce the allocation of social rights to the population (Giger & Nelson, 2011). Furthermore, even if the concept of social citizenship would be supported by the public, we have no reason to expect that it would be a universal concept as in some societies demands for social rights have been voiced much more strongly than in others (Fraser & Gordon, 1992). It remains an empirical question, therefore, to ascertain whether the theoretical distinction between political and social rights can also be found in public opinion in a wide variety of political systems, or whether this emphasis on social rights is limited to specific groups and countries.

This theoretical and normative discussion leads to a challenging empirical research question. It is important to determine whether citizens actually expect the political system to ensure the rights that Marshall considered to be integral to the concept of social citizenship. Theoretically it is possible that citizens may view poverty reduction or social entitlement as beyond the realm of democratic politics, and authors have argued that in some countries, reducing poverty is not necessarily considered as the responsibility of the political system (Fraser & Gordon, 1992). In that case, citizens might still object to the politics of austerity, but they would not experience it as an infringement of basic social rights that are inherent to modern democracy.

In order to investigate this research question, we must determine whether citizens consider social rights as distinct from other, more procedural or formal political rights. If expectations related to social rights and political rights respond to a single latent structure, we would conclude that citizens do not make a distinction between the importance of political rights and social rights. An

alternative possibility is that some citizens make a distinction between the relative importance of political and social rights, and potentially favor the importance of one set of rights over the other for the functioning of contemporary democracies. First, therefore, we have to determine the structure of democracy concepts among European citizens to ascertain whether the distinctions that have been introduced in the theoretical and historical literature are also present among European public opinion.

Data and Methods: Investigating Democratic ideals

The European Social Survey in 2012 is one of the first major comparative surveys in which respondents were asked about their expectations with regard to the ideal of democracy. In this questionnaire battery, respondents were presented with a variety of aspects of democracy, and were asked to rank the importance of each item ("how important do you think it is for democracy in general that…"). The items included in this battery cover diverse aspects of democratic functioning ranging from free and fair elections, the protection of minority rights to protecting citizens against poverty. When we review the mean values of the items in this battery, a first striking finding is that respondents tend to consider *all* elements as very important (Table 1). The rule of law (expressed by the item: "The courts treat everyone the same"), however, is clearly considered as the most important hallmark of a democratic political system with a score of 9.22 on the 0 to 10 scale. Free and fair elections obtain an almost equally high score (8.96). It is quite striking to note, however, that protecting citizens from poverty, also receives a high score (8.68), indicating that poverty protection is seen as an important responsibility for a democratic political system. Reducing income differences receives a lower priority, which may indicate that citizens are more likely to view poverty protection as an intrinsic democratic ideal when it is defined as an objective concept rather than as a relative concept. Despite the fact that poverty research often stresses that the concept of poverty should be investigated as a relative phenomenon, taking into account living standards within society, among public opinion there is stronger support for reducing poverty in absolute terms than there is for reducing relative inequality within society.

This first overview of population averages provides some preliminary evidence in favour of an affirmative answer to our research question. Across Europe, citizens tend to agree with statements claiming that a democratic political system should also fight poverty, along with upholding formal and procedural political rights. Reducing poverty is not just considered to be a moral duty, but it is included in basic expectations toward democracy. These population averages clearly show that a number of items that can be considered as intrinsic to Marshall's definition of social citizenship

are considered as highly important for democracy. In other words: social rights, on average, are not considered by European citizens to be beyond the realm of democratic politics. Rather, European citizens consider various kinds of social rights to be highly important for democracy itself. The question remains, however, as to whether citizens view the social dimension of citizenship as distinct from formal political rights?

Table 1.Average scores on 'democratic ideals' battery

Description	Abbreviation	Mean
The courts treat everyone the same	courts fair	9.22
National elections are free and fair	fair elec.	8.96
The government explains its decisions to voters	govt expl.	8.85
The media provide citizens with reliable information to judge the govt.	media info.	8.75
The government protects all citizens against poverty	poverty	8.68
Governing parties are punished in elections when they have done a bad job	party acc.	8.39
The rights of minority groups are protected	minority	8.34
Opposition parties are free to criticise the government	opposition	8.31
The media are free to criticise the government	free media	8.26
The government takes measures to reduce differences in income levels	income eq.	8.24
Different political parties offer clear alternatives to one another	party alter.	7.99

Notes: European Social Survey, 2012 (n=54,673). Prefatory survey question: "Using this card, please tell me how important you think it is for democracy in general that…". Responses coded on a 0 to 10 scale where 0 indicates "not at all important" and 10 indicates "extremely important".

In order to identify whether citizens hold distinctive democratic ideals in terms of the elements of democracy they consider most important, we performed a latent class analysis (LCA) that allows us to identify groups of respondents that are characterized by a similar combination of items in this battery. The main advantage of LCA for answering our research question is that it allows for the identification of latent structures that are not based on the separate items, but rather on how the individuals responding in the survey combine those items in distinctive patterns. Therefore it allows us to identify distinct groups of respondents who emphasize different combinations of items as priorities with regard to what is important for democracy. Latent class analysis, therefore, allows us to identity groups of citizens that hold on to specific concepts of democracy, by combining different items in this battery (Magidson & Vermunt, 2004). In other words, LCA allows us to identify groups of respondents who have distinctly different conceptions of what an ideal democracy looks like. In contrast to more traditional cluster analysis, LCA allows the researcher to determine the optimal number of clusters to be distinguished based on objective goodness of fit criteria while in cluster analysis this is usually the result of a more arbitrary

decision. In this case, an actor-centered technique like LCA is also preferable over an item-based technique like factor analysis or principal component analysis, as we are mainly interested in how (groups of) individuals make specific combinations of various survey items.

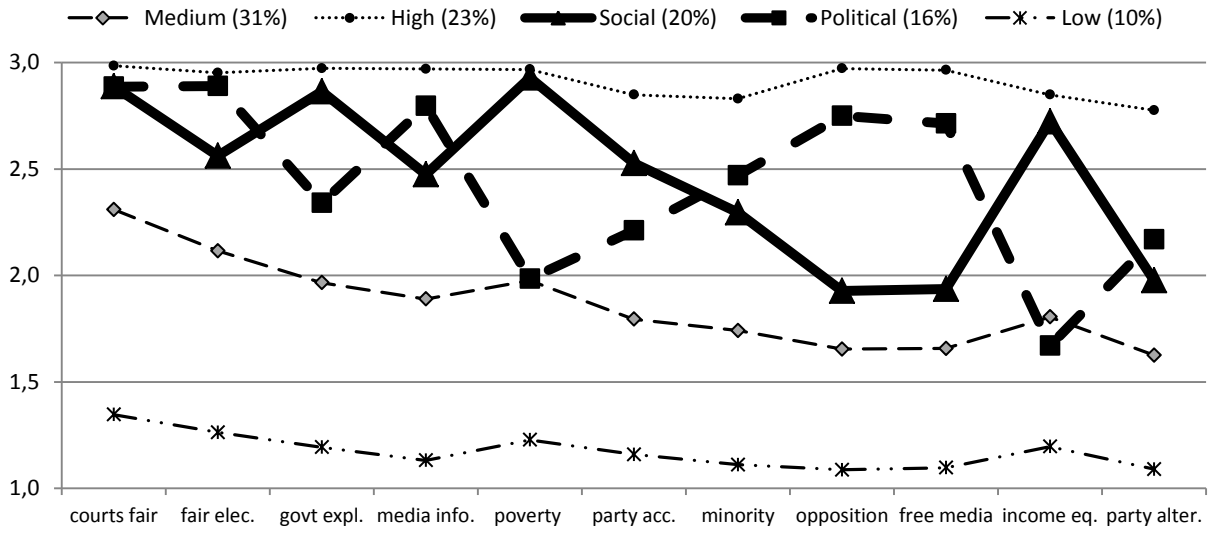
The eleven items, included in the 'democratic ideals' battery can be used in Latent Class Analysis[i]. The goodness of fit criteria strongly suggest that the ideal solution is to distinguish five distinct groups to understand the structure of these preferences (see Appendix for documentation of model selection). Since LCA is an actor-centered analytical approach, it allows us to identify respondents who emphasize specific items among the 11-indicator battery in terms of what they consider to be most important for democracy.

The findings of this analysis suggest that five different groups of respondents should be distinguished. First of all, it has to be acknowledged that three of these groups are less relevant for our research question. The latent class labeled "high ideals", which includes 23% of the respondents, identifies a group of citizens who deemed all of the elements of democracy included in the survey to be highly important, without any further distinction. This group of respondents gives the maximum score to almost all of the items, and there is no meaningful variation. Conversely, the group labeled "low ideals", which includes 10% of the respondents, attributed relatively low importance to all of the democracy indicators, again without any clear variation. An additional group labelled "medium ideals" (31% of the population) consistently attributed moderate importance to all indicators and there is no apparent hierarchy in their answers. These three groups of the population, therefore, do not contribute all that much to addressing our research question. These findings show that almost two-thirds of the respondents (64%) do not attribute special importance to specific elements of democracy, but rather consider all (or none) to be important. These uniform scores might suggest specific priorities, or indifference, but answering this questions falls outside the scope of the current article.

The two additional latent classes, however, are theoretically more relevant as they identify individuals who have two contrasting normative conceptions of what is important for democracy. The democratic ideal labeled as "social ideals" is held by 20% of the respondents and it places relatively high importance on democratic values of economic equality (the reduction of income inequality and protection from poverty) and governmental accountability (government explaining its decisions and held accountable in elections). It can be seen that there is indeed a group of respondents that is highly motivated to emphasise social citizenship rights. In contrast, the ideal labeled "political ideals" that is held by 16% of the respondents places its relative emphasis on the importance of a free and fair electoral process, free media, and the protection of minority rights,

and these respond to the classical political rights. Both these groups have clearly distinct, and to some extent even contrasting democratic ideals, and this can also be visualized in Figure 1. In this Figure, the five distinct groups are depicted, and for every group we show the likelihood that they consider this specific item to be highly important for democracy[ii]. Since in Figure 1 the democracy indicators are ordered on the x-axis from highest to lowest means in the general population, the contrasting emphases of these democratic ideals is visually clear in the criss-crossing of the connective lines. The 'social ideals' group is very likely to pay much attention to reducing poverty, while this is less of a priority for the 'political rights' group.

Figure 1. Democratic ideals held by five latent groups of citizens



Source: European Social Survey, 2012 (n=54,673).
Notes: Latent class analysis conditional probabilities for optimal partial equivalence model that includes country covariate and applies design weight for all cases. The y-axis plots the conditional probabilities that members of a latent class consider the indicators on the x-axis to be important aspects of democracy. Findings based on 3-point coding of the original 11-category democratic ideal items: 0-7 recoded as 1; 8-9 recoded as 2; 10 recoded as 3. See the appendix for further documentation of model choice and measurement equivalence tests.

As noted, we opted for a respondent based technique of analysis, in order to investigate how individuals combine their preferences on specific items. This allowed us to identify groups that emphasize either social or political rights. In order to confirm these findings, we can opt also for a factor analysis, where we investigate the latent structure of this battery. This factor analysis indeed suggests a distinction between social and political rights, with the highest factor loading on those items that help us to identify our distinct groups among the respondents (Table 2).

Table 2. Factor analysis of the 'democratic ideals' battery

	Factor 1: Political	Factor 2: Social
Opposition parties are free to criticise the government	0.8306	0.1208
The media are free to criticise the government	0.7966	0.1195
The media provide citizens with reliable information	0.7263	0.3247
National elections are free and fair	0.7029	0.2741
Different political parties offer clear alternatives	0.6191	0.2595
The rights of minority groups are protected	0.5865	0.3305
The courts treat everyone the same	0.5257	0.5122
The government explains its decisions to voters	0.3804	0.7254
Governing parties can be punished in elections	0.3643	0.5634
The government protects all citizens against poverty	0.1687	0.8566
The government reduces differences in income levels	0.0544	0.8225

Notes: Results of a principle-component factor analysis, varimax rotation; loadings reported for the factors with an eigenvalue above 1.0.

One might conclude from the factor analysis findings that the conceptions of social and political citizenship are separate dimensions that are unrelated. The LCA findings help us understand the results with greater precision, however: the vast majority of citizens considers both political and social elements of democracy to be equally important, while only two specific subgroups of citizens (together 36 % of the population) emphasize one set of values over the other.

A possible objection to the identification of these groups might be that the social rights that are so central to one group should be seen rather as a specific ideological preference, and not as a basic democratic value. Traditionally right wing ideologies are more prone to accept levels of inequality in order to provide an incentive for entrepreneurship, compared to leftist ideologies that tend to stress the need for redistribution (Miller, 1999). Therefore, we should consider the possibility that the 'social rights' that we identify are mainly the expression of a left wing political ideology. This claim can be answered by comparing the scores on these groups for ideologically distinct groups of respondents. The ESS questionnaire also included a left-right self-placement scale, where respondents could place themselves on any position between 0 (extreme left ideological position) to 10 (extreme right position). For both left and right wing respondents, we can thus identify the likelihood that they will belong to one of the latent classes. As it would be rather burdensome to observe all eleven possible positions on the left-right scale, the respondents were regrouped in five

categories (Table 3). As can be observed from the distribution, however, it would be wrong to see the emphasis on social rights as just an expression of a leftist ideology. The theoretical relevance of this finding is that a preference to fight poverty as part of government policy apparently is not limited to right wing respondents, but is general across the population, and therefore can be seen as a rather fundamental vision on the way democracy should function.

The analysis thus far has allowed us to identify distinct groups of respondents, adhering to different democratic ideals. The distribution also suggest that these ideals are not just an expression of a political ideology, but that they express a different vision on democracy. This wave of the European Social Survey included 29 countries, and from a comparative perspective it is important to determine how valid our findings are across these societies. First of all, with regard to measurement validity, tests were run to ascertain the cross-cultural measurement validity of the five constructs (Appendix). These tests show that the five group solution is indeed present across these societies, and therefore can be seen as a valid operationalization. Basically this implies that scores between countries can be compared in a valid manner. If we make this comparison, it can be observed that we find rather marked differences between the countries that have participated in the ESS 2012 (Table 4).

Table 4. Democratic ideals, distribution of citizens across countries into five ideals

	Social	Political	High	Medium	Low	n
Albania	0.315	0.077	0.451	0.145	0.012	
Belgium	0.186	0.157	0.129	0.394	0.134	
Bulgaria	0.202	0.184	0.395	0.182	0.038	
Switzerland	0.193	0.221	0.126	0.393	0.067	
Cyprus	0.191	0.140	0.390	0.258	0.022	
Czech Republic	0.188	0.179	0.177	0.289	0.167	
Germany	0.204	0.281	0.166	0.299	0.050	
Denmark	0.168	0.315	0.163	0.328	0.026	
Estonia	0.173	0.150	0.273	0.294	0.110	
Spain	0.280	0.077	0.320	0.257	0.066	
Finland	0.194	0.173	0.118	0.414	0.102	
France	0.199	0.144	0.180	0.383	0.095	
United Kingdom	0.200	0.129	0.192	0.349	0.130	
Hungary	0.158	0.117	0.378	0.217	0.130	
Ireland	0.149	0.120	0.212	0.349	0.170	
Israel	0.212	0.166	0.218	0.343	0.061	
Iceland	0.151	0.287	0.235	0.284	0.043	
Italy	0.286	0.118	0.255	0.296	0.045	
Lithuania	0.170	0.113	0.218	0.309	0.190	
Netherlands	0.132	0.188	0.101	0.434	0.145	
Norway	0.173	0.274	0.173	0.343	0.038	
Poland	0.261	0.171	0.272	0.257	0.039	
Portugal	0.172	0.046	0.306	0.257	0.219	
Russian Federation	0.211	0.131	0.262	0.244	0.153	
Sweden	0.138	0.323	0.235	0.268	0.037	
Slovenia	0.323	0.115	0.214	0.295	0.053	
Slovakia	0.156	0.118	0.161	0.362	0.203	
Ukraine	0.225	0.117	0.311	0.273	0.074	
Kosovo	0.222	0.063	0.373	0.237	0.105	
TOTAL	0.197	0.163	0.233	0.305	0.102	

Source: ESS 2012.
Notes: Entries are latent class analysis findings for distribution of population in each country among the five latent classes. Note that each row totals 1.0.

The group emphasizing social right is largest in Slovenia and Albania, and more limited in Ireland and the Netherlands. In these countries, too, however, we still find 13 per cent of all respondents belonging to the group that emphasizes social rights. The group emphasizing political rights is largest in Denmark and Germany, while it is only weakly represented in Portugal and Kosovo. For

Discussion

In the literature, concern has been voiced about public reactions against the austerity politics that followed the economic crisis that started in 2008. It is feared that dissatisfaction with economic and fiscal policies will contribute to an alleged decline of democratic legitimacy. Theoretically, this raises the question whether citizens indeed hold the political system responsible for the state of the economy and for ensuring social justice and redistribution. The underlying fundamental question is whether citizens actually consider the political system to be responsible for ensuring social rights to all of its population. Certainly in the period following World War II several authors stressed the fact that democracy cannot just rest on civil and political citizenship, but should also include the element of social citizenship, by fighting poverty and by ensuring social rights to all citizens. The most seminal of these authors was T.H. Marshall, who introduced the concept of social citizenship rights to the literature. A question that thus far has been neglected in the literature, is whether the distinction that was introduced by Marshall is also present among the population itself. Do political systems and collective actors just grant social rights to their citizens, or does public opinion actually support this concept?

A first, important research finding is that more than half of all respondents do not show a clear pattern in their priorities on what is important for a democracy. They simply seem to rank all items as low, high, or they accord them a middle position. So it should at least be acknowledged that while in the theoretical and normative literature, all of these distinctions are considered to be meaningful, for a vast majority of the population they do not seem to matter all that much. This is in line with earlier findings, suggesting that concepts of democracy are not that strongly developed among the population. For quite some citizens, democracy is a highly appealing but only vaguely defined concept.

In the analysis, based on the 2012 European Social Survey, it was shown that support for a democratic ideal that uniquely emphasizes social rights was lowest in the countries that have already achieved a high level of income equality, like Sweden or the Netherlands. This should not be taken to imply that citizens of these countries think that equality is unimportant. Rather, the question wording clearly suggests a *further* reduction in income inequality as an important challenge for democracy. For citizens of these countries, a further reduction of income inequality does not currently seem to be a strong policy priority. As Marshall (1964, 117) already noted: “We are not aiming at absolute equality. There are limits inherent in the egalitarian movement.” This would suggest that there is a rather crucial distinction between political rights and social rights. One cannot imagine a ceiling effect for the criterion of free and fair elections, or an equal treatment before the courts. The pattern of answers simply suggest that this is always considered

as important by citizens. With regard to social rights, on the other hand, we do observe some ceiling effect as in countries with an effective welfare state, there is clearly less support for a further reduction in levels of wealth disparity.

Among the group that makes a distinction between the various components of democracy, however, the major difference is between political and social rights. Apparently, there is a large group of citizens in Europe, that indeed departs from the notion that in a modern democracy, *both* political and social rights need to be upheld. These social rights, clearly, are seen as an integral component of democracy itself. This dual structure of democratic ideals among the population of Europe is thus in line with the ideas that Marshall introduced. With only a slight exaggeration, once could claim therefore that more than three decades after his death, T.H. Marshall was indeed right: at least in Europe, the population does seem to make a difference between social and political rights, and both of them are considered to be important.

The limitation of the current research is that we can offer only an analysis of cross-sectional population data. The fact that the concept of social citizenship is present among public opinion in European states does not inform us yet about the historical development of these concepts. As was already mentioned, the role of public opinion is almost completely neglected in the work of Marshall, who attributes the development of the modern welfare state to the activity of the state and collective actors. To some extent, one can demonstrate some form of historical continuity, as the emphasis on reducing poverty is indeed a strong imperative that was also present already in traditional notions of a moral economy that were upheld before the French Revolution (Thompson, 1971). A different causal logic, however, is just as well plausible. Across Europe, political systems have invested heavily in the establishment of welfare state regimes during the 20th century. This expansion of social policy implicitly is based on the notion that it is the responsibility of the state to ensure some level of social protection to all its citizens. One might expect that the experience of more than half a century with various welfare state regimes has led to the expectation that states indeed will assume responsibility for fighting poverty among their citizens, even, or maybe especially in economically adverse times. This welfare regime hypothesis assumes that, because of the experience with redistribution regimes, public opinion has developed specific notions of fairness and social justice (Jæger, 2006). As we only have access to cross-sectional data, the current analysis does not allow us to make any statements on the direction of causality, but at least we can demonstrate that this notion of ‘social citizenship’ is present among the public opinion of European countries, and that is a step that has not yet been taken in the research literature.

This allows us to understand why the stakes are so high in the current protest against the politics of austerity. The retrenchment of the welfare state runs counter to some fundamental expectations with regard to the role of the state in fighting poverty and exclusion. As this expectation has become part of fundamental ideas on what democracy is all about, one can expect that protest against the politics of austerity will remain vibrant in numerous societies. Norms about redistribution are not just a matter of political preferences, but they do reflect fundamental differences in concepts of democracy.

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Appendix

A1. Latent class model choice

Table A1 displays the goodness of fit statistics for selecting the optimal number of latent classes, and for testing for measurement equivalence across countries. The BIC is the most widely used statistic for assessing goodness of fit, and a smaller BIC indicates better model fit. A complementary approach is to evaluate the percent change in the likelihood chi-squared statistic L^2 in comparison to the one-class model (Magidson & Vermunt 2004: 176-177). Even though the absolute value of the BIC continues to decrease through the 6-class model, the percent reduction of the L^2 is minimal in the 6-class model. Adding a sixth class essentially splits the "low-expectations" class into two groups, one that has somewhat higher expectations than the other. Based on these considerations, we selected the five-class model.

Table A1. Latent class analysis model fit statistics for democratic ideals

Selecting optimal number of latent classes	BIC(LL)	CAIC(LL)	L^2	Change L^2	Class.Err.
1-Class	1194720	1194742	414310		0.00
2-Class	1020489	1020523	239949	-0.42	0.04
3-Class	973207	973253	192535	-0.54	0.06
4-Class	955536	955594	174733	-0.58	0.08
5-Class	**936685**	**936755**	**155751**	**-0.62**	**0.10**
6-Class	929586	929668	148521	-0.64	0.12

Notes: European Social Survey, 2012 (n=54,673). BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion; LL = log likelihood; L^2=likelihood ratio chi-square statistics. Entries are test statistics for latent class models identifying one and more clusters of respondents, based on 11 indicators of democratic ideals with 'country' as a covariate, missings imputed, and design weights applied. Optimal model highlighted in bold font.

A2. Latent class measurement equivalence tests

In order to determine the viability of the latent classes as variables in subsequent cross-national analyses, it is necessary to test for whether the latent classes identified in the optimal model are equivalent across the countries in the data (Kankaraš, Moors & Vermunt, 2010; Kankaraš & Vermunt, 2014). Table A1 includes the fit statistics of tests for two kinds of measurement equivalence:

(1) **Partial equivalence** means that the same latent construct (in this study, the five democratic ideals identified by the latent class groups) is valid across all of the groups under investigation (in this study, the 29 countries included in the study). The test of partial equivalence investigates whether there is equality of the slope parameters, and can be understood as parallel to the test for "metric equivalence" in factor analysis.

(2) **Homogeneous equivalence** means that the scales of the latent construct have the same origin, in addition to the same slope parameters (as indicated in partial equivalence). Homogeneous equivalence can be understood as parallel to the test for "scalar equivalence" in factor analysis.

The equivalence tests in Table A2 show that the partial equivalence model has the lowest BIC and is the optimal model. The subsequent models remove direct effects for single indicators to test whether full equivalence is found for specific indicators, testing first for indicators with the lowest bivariate residuals. The increased BIC in the models that selectively remove direct effects for single indicators shows that no indicators are fully homogeneous across countries, and therefore the partial equivalence model with direct effects (i.e. that allows the intercepts for each item to vary across countries) is the optimal model. Therefore, five-class partial equivalence model is comparable across countries, and can therefore be used as data for next-step cross-national analyses.

Table A2. Latent class analysis measurement equivalence tests

Measurement equivalence test, 5-class model	BIC(LL)	CAIC(LL)	L^2	Change L^2	Class.Err.
Homogeneous model	929450	929632	326900		0.10
Heterogeneous model	917778	919808	295067	-0.10	0.10
Partial equivalence	**913246**	**914044**	**303976**	**-0.07**	**0.11**
Partial equivalence, 1 direct effect removed (meprinf)	913905	914647	305245	-0.07	0.10
Partial equivalence, 1 direct effect removed (oppcrgv)	913885	914627	305225	-0.07	0.10

Notes: European Social Survey, 2012 (n=54,673). BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion; LL = log likelihood; L^2=likelihood ratio chi-square statistics. Entries are test statistics for latent class measurement equivalence tests across countries for the 5-class model, based on 11 indicators of democratic ideals with 'country' as a covariate, missings imputed, and design weights applied. Optimal model highlighted in bold font.

Endnotes

[i]. Because of the high average scores on all the items, the original 11 point scale had to be recoded to three categories. The advantage of this recoding is that it avoids the problem of sparse data in analyzing categorical variables (Agresti 2007). As evident in the presentation of the indicator means in Table 1, the variables in this battery are highly skewed toward the high end of the 11-point scale, so use of the original 11-category items creates a computational problem of sparse data. Relatedly, the more parsimonious coding enables the computationally intensive task of performing a definitive test of measurement equivalence across countries. In addition to the 3-point recode findings reported in this article, we also performed robustness tests to investigate whether the findings were affected by using alternate codings, including: the original 11-cateory response items; dichotomous cutoffs at 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, as well as the mean or median of each variable; an alternate 3-point coding (0-8=1, 9=2, 10=3) and a 4-point coding (0-7=1, 8=2, 9=3, 10=4). These tests all yielded similar substantive results as those reported in the article.

[ii] . The reported model includes all case in the data, including those with missing data on the battery of questions regarding democratic ideals. The proportion of missing data on these indicators is low, ranging from 2-4% on each of the democratic ideals indicators, and the proportion of missing values on these indicators are evenly distributed throughout the countries in the study. We conducted two alternate analyses to test whether the findings would be affected by restricting the analyses to cases with missing data on the democratic ideals battery: (a) Conducting a listwise deletion of all cases that are missing data on any of the 11 democracy indicators, thereby analyzing the remaining 89.27% of the research population (b) Retaining cases that have missing data on only one indicator in the democratic ideals battery, thereby analyzing 94.61% of the research population (and excluding the 5.34% of cases that have missing data on 2 or more democratic ideals items). Analyses based on these alternate codings of missing data yielded the same substantive findings as those reported in the article (available from the authors).